

"Assassins"

legislative

(BOUKAS, Dr. Elizabeth C.)

re: 3 recent deaths

July 15, 1968

Dr. Elizabeth C. Boukas  
P. O. Box 116  
Dunnigan,  
Yolo County, California

Dear Dr. Boukas,

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of July 5 with the attachments relative to the three recent assassinations in our country.

It was good of you to send me this, and I appreciate your making the contents of this statement available to me.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,



Gerald R. Ford, M. C.

GRF:pc

*Eliz Boukas*

P.O. Box 116  
Dunnigan, Yolo County, Calif.

July 5, 1968

Honorable Gerald R. Ford  
House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Ford:

In view of the serious consequences to the American public from the assassination of three of its leaders, I have been requested to send you the enclosed Statement of Position and I have been authorized to represent to you that the persons whose names appear below have given their written authorization with full knowledge of the content of the statement.

We the undersigned earnestly hope that you will take an active role in requesting federal action. We feel that such action should come from the executive branch as well as the legislative branch of the Government.

Unless action is taken immediately, valuable leads to the possibility of an organized conspiracy could be lost in the narrowing down of facts relevant only to the trial of one suspect.

Sincerely,

*Elizabeth C. Boukas*

Dr. Elizabeth C. Boukas



ECB/m

An identical letter has been sent to President Johnson, to the other Minority Leader and to the Majority Leaders of both Houses of Congress and of the California State Legislature, all members of the recently created commission to study violence, various personalities associated with the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and with the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

## STATEMENT OF POSITION

Since the assassination of President Kennedy called for a federal investigation, we believe that the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., national leader of a minority group, and that of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, aspirant to the presidential office, call for the same.

In addition to an investigation of the individual deaths, there is reason to consider an investigation of a possible connection between the three because of the following facts (1) there are still lingering doubts about the thoroughness of the Warren Commission report, (2) Dr. King and Senator Kennedy were assassinated in quick succession while both were actively engaged in supporting a similar cause, (3) the cause of the latter two is identified with the administration of President Kennedy.

To enact tighter gun control laws is a necessary step but it has nothing to do with the question, "Is there a conspiracy behind these three assassinations?" The recent creation of a federal commission to study the causes of violence does not deal with the specific issue.

While we are confident that the proper federal authorities are working on their own, there is as yet no body representative of the public at large to study the evidence gathered and to weigh it specifically in the light of a possible connection between the three assassinations. Only the creation of a federal commission for this specific purpose can heal the trauma and dispel the discouragement of these days.

Every American has the right to know whether or not there exists an organized violence that can abruptly terminate his work for the betterment of American society.

Babbish, Agnes A.  
Marin County, California

Harrison, Joan  
Napa County, California

Malarkey, Susanna  
San Joaquin County, Calif.

Boukas, Dr. Elizabeth C.  
Yolo County, California

LaVoy, Anna Louise  
Monterey County, California

Perez, Mary  
Washoe County, Nevada

Codd, Lois J.  
Alameda County, California

LaVoy, Georgie  
San Francisco County, Calif.

Tagliareni, Mildred K.  
Yolo County, California

Fazackerly, Joan  
San Mateo County, California

Loudon, Donald J.  
San Francisco County, Calif.

Zimmerman, Larua  
Alameda County, California

Geddis, Norah  
Los Angeles County, California



LEGISLATIVE

"Assassins"

(Gordon, Britton L.)

Re: James Ray

July 5, 1968

Mr. Britton L. Gordon  
President  
The Blackmer Pump Company  
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Dear Brit,

Your letter of June 19 has been far too long on my desk, and I deeply regret the delay.

However, I am in complete agreement with you that every possible action must be taken to insure that James Ray comes to trial and is available for interrogation as to his possible accomplices.

A British court has taken the initial step in making him available to the United States officials, and I trust that every effort will be made to protect him before, during, and after the trial.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford, M.C.

GRF:mh





THE BLACKMER PUMP COMPANY  
DIVISION OF DOVER CORPORATION  
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

BRITTON L. GORDON  
PRESIDENT

June 19, 1968

Dear Jerry:

The enclosed article from last night's Press has given me considerable concern which may or may not be realistic. However, remembering the fiasco which followed the arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald and his subsequent killing by Ruby while he was supposedly under the control of the Dallas Police Department, I wonder whether we shouldn't initiate all steps available to us to insure that James Ray comes to trial and is available for interrogation as to his possible accomplices without the hazard of his being killed or injured or allowed to escape somewhere along the way. The thing that bothers me is the past performance of Attorney Hanes who from his past performance might well be one of a group involved in hiring Ray to do this particularly distasteful job. Certainly it's hard to imagine where Ray could have come by the funds he apparently has at his disposal if he were not being supported by someone. For Hanes now to have direct access to him in the privileged position of his attorney would certainly seem to merit some attention on the part of some responsible authority within our government. We certainly should initiate whatever steps are available to us to exercise every possible precaution once he is delivered into our hands by the British and to urge them to take unusual measures while he remains their charge.

It's probably naive of me to raise this matter because of the deep concern which everyone at all levels must have in exactly this area. I trouble you with these thoughts only because the barn door needs to be shut at an early stage in the proceedings in light of the repercussions that one could well imagine would follow any bungling which would enable this man to avoid paying for the crime if it proves to be his. I would think that if something of that kind happened civil disturbances that we have seen in the past would resemble a maypole dance in comparison with what might logically be expected to follow.



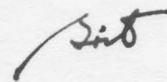
THE BLACKMER PUMP COMPANY  
DIVISION OF DOVER CORPORATION

-2-

I recognize that having been deeply involved in the Warren Commission Study much or all of the above line of thinking has already occurred to you or because of your intimate knowledge of what's going on at the moment you are satisfied that my fears are groundless. However, since I highly respect your judgement and ability to act effectively in matters of this kind, I submit these thoughts for your consideration and having done so assume that they are no further worry of mine.

With warm regards. . .

Cordially,



The Honorable Gerald R. Ford  
H230 Capitol Building  
Washington, D. C. 20515



# Lawyer Who Has Agreed to Take Ray's Case No Stranger to Controversy

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP) — J. Hanes, who has tentatively agreed to defend the man charged with assassinating Dr. Luther King Jr., is no stranger to racial controversy.

As mayor of Birmingham when racial disturbances in the city and international attention was focused on Public Commissioner Eugene Connor and the use of dogs and fire hoses to put down demonstrations.

He defended three Ku Klux Klan members accused of the 1965 slaying of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo in Hayneville.

Two of the accused went free on state charges but were convicted on federal conspiracy charges. The third died.

When he was mayor, Hanes accused King of being one of the instigators of Birmingham's troubles.

Now, he is getting ready for a hurried trip to England to talk with the man accused of killing King while the civil rights leader was directing a protest in another Southern city—Memphis, Tenn.

Hanes plans to leave Wednesday to confer with James Earl Ray who, in a letter signed "R.G. Sneyd" asked Hanes to take the case. Sneyd is the name of the man being held as Ray was using when arrested.

The lawyer said he does not know who will pay Ray's legal fees but added, "I understand this man has funds."

Hanes' first taste of political life came in 1948 when he finished second in a five-man race for the presidency of the Jefferson County Commission. He then had a law practice in Birmingham.

Next came three years as a special agent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Chicago and Washington.

In 1961, he was elected mayor of Birmingham. And with the office came a head-on confrontation with the forces of integration.

Of the disturbances in his city, Hanes said they were not spontaneous but had been carefully



ARTHUR J. HANES

plotted at a Communist-inspired workshop a year before. Even after a change in the form of government ended the Hanes administration, he continued to speak out. In one speech he said, concerning the federal government, "You have a bunch of reds mixing in there with the blacks and whites."

In the summer of 1963, he charged that a community affairs committee was "loaded with leftists, pinkos and active integrationists." He warned that through integration Birmingham would become "a Negro town where white people will cower behind barred doors."

A month before the opening of the fall 1963 school term, Hanes called for a "human wall of white citizens" around Birmingham schools to block desegregation.

Hanes, who is 51, comes from an old central Alabama family. His maternal grandfather was a Confederate officer during the Civil War. His father was a Methodist minister. He obtained his law degree from the University of Alabama.

Although he says that politics has always fascinated him, he has devoted most of his time

since stepping down as mayor to his private law practice. One of his sons, Arthur Jr., is his partner.

(By United Press International)  
The fashionably dressed Hanes said he had no knowl-

edge of the case other than "what I've read about." He had a neat pile of newspaper clippings about the King assassination on his desk.

"I will say this, though," he

said. "Whoever they have in that jail in London—Ray or (Eric Starvo) Galt—is as innocent at this moment as you or I.

"I think the American jury system is the greatest. If you give it to a jury to decide, they'll mull it over and come up with the right verdict."

Hanes, an even-tempered man, was asked so often if he were the "Klan's lawyer," that his answers grew edgy.

"I am not a klansman and never had been within 50 miles of a Klan rally to my knowledge," he said. He added that he took the Luizzo case after Klansman attorney Matt Murphy was killed in an automobile accident and the defendants needed legal representation.

Hanes said his son, Arthur Jr., would travel to London with him to help him in the event he takes the case.



# Lawyer Who Has Agreed to Take Ray's Case No

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP) — Arthur J. Hanes, who has tentatively agreed to defend the man accused of assassinating Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., is no stranger to racial controversy.

He was mayor of Birmingham in 1963 when racial disturbances shook the city and international attention was focused on Public Safety Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor and the use of police dogs and fire hoses to put down demonstrations.

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United States  
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# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 113

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No. 158

## REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING: MAN OF PEACE OR APOSTLE OF VIOLENCE?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, one of the most incredible cases of American naivety can be found in the strange story of Rev. Martin Luther King. While alert Americans generally seem intent on discovering the facts, discussing the issues, and developing a dialog in scores of social, economic, political, and religious areas and debating the pros and cons of the Bishop Pikes, the Rap Browns, and the George Lincoln Rockwells, there is a strange silence and lack of debate when it comes to Martin Luther King.

It is almost as if he is being consciously protected by the press which normally accepts accolades for presenting both sides of a story and piercing with rays of informative reportorial light all proper facets of national life. King is a national figure, this cannot be denied. He is one of the only men who can go from jail cell to a conference with the President of the United States. His name is known; his cause is said to be civil rights. For one reason or another, however, very little is known about the real Martin Luther King. I believe that if his true character were known, he would not be able to command a corporal's guard to follow him.

While preaching nonviolence, I believe the record clearly shows him to be an apostle of violence. While gaining major support from clergymen, I believe he has preached an expedient, totally materialistic line which is the antithesis of religious teachings. He has openly associated with the most radical elements in our society. I believe he has done more for the Communist Party than any other person of this decade.

These may sound like strong words, Mr. Speaker, but the facts are even harsher. I have heard Reverend King speak. On one occasion he may have a soulful melancholy that is, without doubt, most impressive. On another, he can rant with the best of the demagogues, and while more sophisticated than Stokely Carmichael or Rap Brown, he says, in effect, the same thing. He makes no pretense at keeping his skirts clean or his house in order. He does not have to because the past 10 years have demonstrated that the liberal community and the news media of our country will either not note or meekly forgive his indiscretions.

Take the year 1967 alone. At a time when Detroit and Newark had just witnessed a virtual guerrilla war and a chaotic lawlessness without equal in modern times, King was urging a massive dislocation of northern cities. Instead of intervening as a moderating influence he took up the cause of the rabble-rousers and threatened these dislocations which, he averred, would force the Congress to provide financial assistance for slum Negroes. Yes, he would force us. Force us in this free society. Force is a word he understands well. He added:

This is something like a last plea to the nation to respond to nonviolence. There is a great deal of bitterness (in the slums). If there is not provided a channel of constructive action, this bitterness will lead to desperation riots and social disruption.

### THE ALLEN-SCOTT REPORT

## King Plan: Blame Congress

WASHINGTON—In singling out Congress as their principal scapegoat for the big city riots, militant civil rights leaders are setting their sights on obtaining more than massive federal funds for the Negro ghettos and job-training programs.

The attacks against Congress spearheaded by Dr. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership conference, and Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph institute, are part of an over-all campaign to establish a political "third force" by 1968.

Immediate objectives, which will be advanced by demonstrations and mass meetings here this fall, are to drive a deep wedge between Congress and the other two branches of government and to develop a multiparty system.

Long-range goals of King and Rustin are to use the proposed "third force" as a political movement to bring about basic changes.

### Cover-up for Stokely, Brown

In telephone calls around the country, King and Rustin outlined these plans while urging other civil rights, peace, student, and labor groups, and friendly politicians to center the blame for the riots on Congress.

By adopting this strategy, King and Rustin are saying that a "united front" could be built up to attack Congress, especially the House of Representatives. These attacks also would draw public attention and criticism for the riots away from such advocates of violence as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, according to King and Rustin.

Both Brown and Carmichael are connected



Robert S. Allen  
Paul Scott

with the so-called Student Nonviolent Coordinating committee and have been preaching violence and black power thruout the country. Carmichael is now in Cuba.

The King-Rustin plan calls for the "united front" to be operating as soon after Labor day as possible in order to begin organizing for the coming battle to seat the former Harlem congressman, Adam Clayton Powell.

The second round in this historic constitutional battle should take place in early October, when Powell's petition to regain his House seat reaches the Supreme court. His petition, denied in federal court here, is on appeal to the United States Circuit court.

By uniting these forces behind Powell, King and Rustin hope to create a national political issue to stir up Negroes in all the large cities and encourage them to become active with peace groups in the new "third force."

### Expect Favorable Ruling

According to information gathered by House Democratic leaders, the King-Rustin strategy is being based on the assumption that the Supreme court will rule in favor of Powell and the House will again refuse to seat the Harlem Democrat.

Should a constitutional deadlock of this magnitude develop, the House leaders admit it could cause one of the gravest internal power struggles in this nation's history.

"Under the explosive racial conditions in this country," one House Democratic leader warned during a recent private discussion on the Powell case, "demonstrations in this country could easily lead to a riot that would set everything afire here."

It was the consensus of the House leaders taking part in the discussions that Powell, who was reelected in a special election this spring, was delaying his return as part of the King-Rustin strategy.

At a time when the incendiary statements of Brown and Carmichael were sparking the riot-prone tensions, did King emerge as a national leader seeking to soothe these passions? No, he attended as keynote speaker the most radical assemblage of anti-Americans ever put together, and as the Communist Daily Worker approvingly and glowingly reported:

He described vividly the racism that can praise in its history books a white Patrick Henry who sounded the call against the British redcoats while it condemns H. Rap Brown who insists that black victims of oppression in America should fight for their freedom.

Imagine that—comparing the rabble-rousers, the looters, the social misfits in America to patriots like Patrick Henry. He was further quoted as saying "Maybe the bluecoats in the ghetto are our redcoats."

The convention, the National Conference for New Politics—NCNP—heard chantings of "Kill Whitey, Kill Whitey" and the most revolutionary anti-Amer-

ican doctrine that could be imagined and yet the August 29–September 4, 1967, confab had the supposed "man of peace" Mr. King as their keynoter. It represented a major breakthrough for the Communist Party and King helped. For years, the Communists have chafed at the doctrine of separation which tended to keep them out of respectable liberal gatherings. In the 1930's, the liberals worked hand in hand with the Reds but the growth of anticommunism in the Nation has brought about a change in the 1950's and 1960's. Except for the more radical groups, liberals in general have tried to keep Communists from participating in their causes and at their conventions. King has consistently worked with Communists and has helped give them a respectability they do not deserve. The NCNP in Chicago represented such a breakthrough in the Red goal of "non-exclusion" that they editorialized gleefully in their organ, the Daily Worker, on August 22, 1967.

Reverend King is the hero of many militant Negro leaders although de-



nounced by others in the black power structure. He has allied with Cassius Clay. When you study his speeches closely you are struck by the obvious fact that while ostensibly condemning racism, he himself preaches a black racism. One of the leading black racists in the country is Rev. Albert C. Cleage, Jr., who just after the terrible riot told his Central United Church of Christ in Detroit:

There is no escape for you and when white people try to tell that good niggers can get through this golden door of integration, don't believe it. We don't even want that door because that's destroying us.

Cleage went on to say:

We are dealing with an enemy who is not going to accept us into American life.

In extolling King, he noted:

Dr. King led black people to understand that integration could never come to pass. He helped black men understand that "the man" is an enemy.

In his flagrant disregard for law and order, Reverend King has given credibility to one of the most dangerous dogmas that can be promoted in an orderly society. He simply arrogates to his own inspiration the whim to disobey any law which he loosely terms unjust. Court orders, State, and Federal laws, municipal ordinances—they must all fall in front of his supposition that he has a divine right to break the law. His conduct is clearly criminal in this regard and certainly has helped develop the idea among rioters and looters that they can obey their own concepts of good and bad laws and act accordingly.

Like most power-hungry tyrants, he has gone one step too far. In disobeying a court order, he was sentenced to jail. On appeal to the Supreme Court, he was surprised to find that a usually supine and hopelessly liberal Court rose up in indignation and slapped his wrists in a strong indictment of his illegal activity. Said the Court in affirming his jail sentence on June 12, 1967:

This Court cannot hold that the petitioners were constitutionally free to ignore all the procedures of the law and carry their battle to the streets. One may sympathize with the petitioners' impatient commitment to their cause. But respect for judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of law, which alone can give abiding meaning to constitutional freedom.

Mr. Speaker, this succinct statement should be burned into the consciousness of all of those who have at one time or another fallen for the pious pronouncements of Martin Luther King. Carrying the battles to the streets, as the Court phrases it, is not a constitutional right. It is, in reality, criminal conduct and should not be condoned by any thinking American. I repeat again the Court's most emphatic statement:

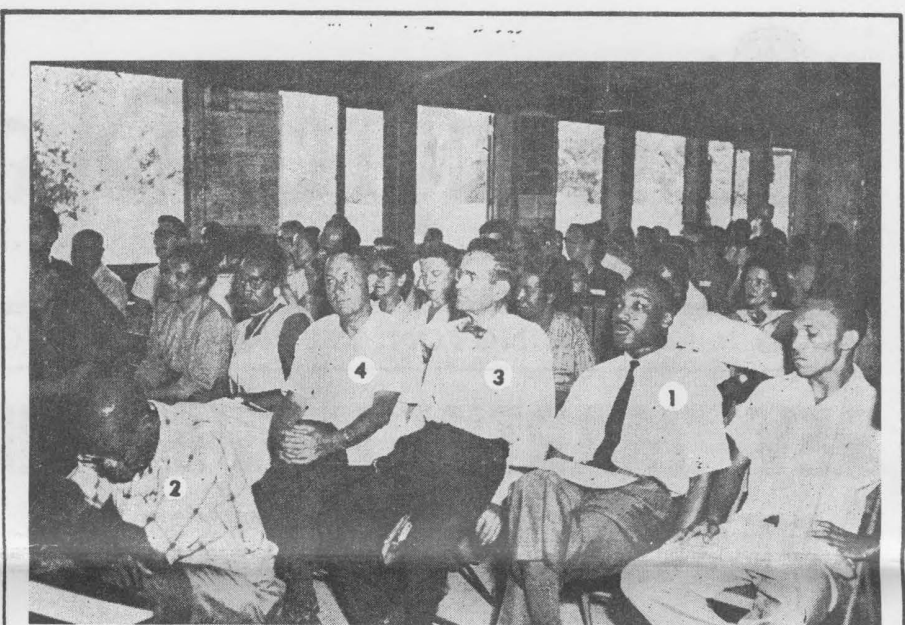
But respect for judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of law, which alone can give abiding meaning to constitutional freedom.

At the height of the rioting fury which was sweeping the country, King joined three other civil rights leaders in issuing a cautious call for an end to violence because, among other things, it is self-destructive to the Negroes' interest. This was on July 26, 1967. Two days later King was visiting Cleveland, Ohio, on an inspection tour. He tersely expanded on his theme of violence being self-destructive when he said:

I can't recommend burning down Cleveland. We end up getting killed more than anyone else and our businesses get burned.

No statement, Mr. Speaker, could more clearly expose the irresponsible, cynical nature of the subject of these remarks. This is typical of the manner in which he advocates "nonviolence." Burning, looting, and killing are not immoral or wrong, it would seem. Merely destructive to the self-interest of this particular minority group.

Reverend King expresses indignation over Vietnam. In this he is joined by many millions of Americans. Few of us are pleased at what is happening there but we are not disloyal to our Nation. Reverend King showed his true colors in April of this year in a major speech he delivered on Vietnam. I believe that any thinking American who will study his words must conclude as I have that he is disloyal to the United States. He maligned his country with lies and accusations that come straight from the Communist Party line. A strong statement you say. Listen to what he said. He praised Ho Chi Minh as the only true leader of the Vietnamese people. He condemned the United States as the "great-



This well-circulated picture places Martin Luther King at a subversive training school. Four well-known leftists are shown and identified by number.

No. 1. Martin Luther King, Jr.

No. 2. Abner W. Berry, long-time Communist Party functionary; as early as 1938 he gave the report of the Negro Commission of the CP at the 10th National Convention of the Communist Party; later was Negro affairs editor of Daily Worker. His column in the Daily Worker of September 10, 1957, page 5, described the seminar which both he and King attended.

No. 3. Aubrey Williams, board member of Southern Conference for Human Welfare—SCHW—a cited Communist front and president of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.—SCEF—which replaced SCHW. Senate report

found that SCEF had substantially same leadership and purposes of predecessor organization, SCHW. Also affiliated with Highlander Folk School. Identified as a Communist Party member by one witness before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; another witness identified him as one who accepted the discipline of Communist Party. He denied both charges but admitted that he had been connected with a member of Communist-front organizations.

No. 4. Myles Horton takes credit for starting Highlander Folk School. Like Williams, was a board member of SCHW and became a director of SCEF. One former Communist organizer testified before congressional committee that Horton once remarked, "I am doing you just as much good now as I would if I were a member of the Communist Party."

est purveyor of violence in the world today," and likened our Nation to Hitler's Germany. He condemned the late President Diem as "one of the most vicious modern dictators" and threw out wild charges like the United States may have killed 1 million children in Vietnam. He conjured up an American napalm war in Peru so he could denounce it. He said we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam and our minimal expectation is to occupy it as an American colony. These are but a few of the wild accusations of the Nobel Prize winner many people have been led to believe is a man of peace.

Even the ultraliberal Washington Post could not stomach King's blatant lies and propaganda. In an editorial entitled "A Tragedy," they roundly condemned King by saying:

#### A TRAGEDY

Dr. Martin Luther King's Vietnam speech was not a sober and responsible comment on the war but a reflection of his disappointment at the slow progress of civil rights and the war on poverty.

It was filled with bitter and damaging allegations and inferences that he did not and could not document. He flatly charged the Government with sending Negroes to fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. But Negro troops constitute 11 per cent of the enlisted personnel in Vietnam (10.5 per cent of the population was Negro in 1960). Negro casualties are higher than this (22.5 per cent of killed in action) because of higher Negro enlistment for elite corps and higher rate of Negro re-enlistment. No doubt these figures reflect in part the fact that civilian employment opportunities are not as great for the Negro. But they also reflect, in part, the zeal and courage of Negro soldiers. And they reflect the fact that in this war the Negro in uniform is not limited to work battalions.

Dr. King says the United States may have caused a million civilian casualties in Vietnam—mostly children—but he did not give any supporting authority for this statement.

He stated flatly that "our officials know" that less than 25 per cent of the members of the National Liberation Front are Communist—but he neglected to say what officials or where they said it.

He contends that Ho Chi Minh knows that the bombing and shelling we are doing is "part of traditional preinvasion strategy," but gives no credence to our express declaration that no invasion is intended.

He has no doubts that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam and thinks it will become clear that our "minimal expectation is to occupy it as an American colony." He feels that men will "not refrain from thinking" that our "maximum hope is to goad

China into a war so that we may bomb her nuclear installations." It is one thing to reproach a government for what it has done and said; it is quite another to attribute to it policies it has never avowed and purposes it has never entertained and then to rebuke it for these sheer inventions of unsupported fantasy.

He has even conjured up an American napalm war in Peru so that he could denounce it.

Dr. King is right to reproach America for not ending discrimination and poverty. But these are failures for which every Administration in the history of the United States deserves more reproach than this one. It is strange irony indeed that the Government which has labored the hardest to right these ancient wrongs is the object of the most savage denunciation, the most unreserved criticism and the most unfair blame.

Dr. King has done a grave injury to those who are his natural allies in a great struggle to remove ancient abuses from our public life; and he has done an even graver injury to himself. Many who have listened to him with respect will never again accord him the same confidence. He has diminished his usefulness to his cause, to his country and to his people. And that is a great tragedy.

To those liberals and bleeding hearts who have not intelligently discerned what King has been saying and doing, during his decade of prominence, this may have come as a tragedy. To those of us who have followed him closely and have been aware, by both public and confidential documentation, of his questionable activity, it comes as no surprise at all. In 1967 the real King surfaced and yet where is the criticism he should be getting?

These are but a few highlights, Mr. Speaker, in the disappointing story of Martin Luther King. I say disappointing because he has had a rare opportunity to align himself with an important cause and work for solutions to social ills through our democratic process. This he has not done. He has had the opportunity to work with men of good will but all too often he has aligned himself with the most radical and un-American elements in our country. I now present in detail some of the background of Martin Luther King.

#### THE VIOLENT NONVIOLENCE OF DR. KING

"I have a deep commitment to non-violence"—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

On May 4, 1963, police dogs and fire-hoses were used to quell a demonstration by lawbreakers in Birmingham, Ala. There had been violence plain and sim-



ple. Martin Luther King and his right-hand man, Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, threatened that these demonstrations would continue until there were not only promises of an end to segregation but "action." There was, they said, "no intention of relaxing pressure without such action. We negotiate from strength" and "will consider" calling off the demonstrations after the action. This was the mood of the well-known nonviolence of Dr. King.

The day following action by police dogs and firehoses, the New York Times reported that residents of Birmingham heard from the lips of King, the man who preached peace in the streets but led the lawless bands:

Today was D-Day. Tomorrow will be double D-Day.

One seldom hears Martin Luther King's name without the "nonviolent" slogans coming in successive breaths. But quite often the nonviolence of King leads to violence of riot proportions. The big lie technique is clearly used. Repeat "nonviolence" over and over so the public will believe it and then practice violence or the encouraging of violence.

Violence accompanied King during his early days in Birmingham. It was present during the death of a fellow pastor at, of all places, a Baptist convention. It was with him in Albany, Ga. It returned with him to Birmingham and Albany. It followed him to St. Augustine, and they were together in Chicago. It is not an exaggeration to say he leaves a trail of violence in his wake.

In addition to the physical presence of Martin Luther King in flammable cities, there is the presence of King's words and ideas in every tension area across the United States. The power of Dr. King to promote violence was recognized early. Arrested for loitering in 1958, King was charged with irresponsibility by a judge who said:

It is regrettable that this case arose . . . there was serious danger of an incident.

On many occasions, like Chicago in 1966, he goes to the scene of violence and instead of trying to settle troubled waters, he adds to the riot-producing tension.

Early statements of King reveal continued use of the phrase "direct action programs." His philosophy and purpose as outlined in his book, "Why We Can't Wait," amount to this. Note his forked tongue semantics. He admits that there is an effort to create a "crisis packed situation" but he concludes he is not a "creator of tension." He stated:

The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. . . . Actually, we who engage in non-violent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with.

In August of this year, at a time of serious racial tension, he said virtually the same thing—again with a certain amount of double talk. King said:

Negroes will be mentally healthier if they do not suppress rage but vent it constructively and its energy peacefully but forcefully to cripple the operations of an oppressive society.

Read that one over several times and try to tie together the words "rage" which somehow is to be "vented" to "cripple" an "oppressive society."

Louis Waldman, a leading Negro labor lawyer in Chicago, answered King's statement this way:

The philosophy and purpose of Dr. King's program . . . is to produce "crisis-packed" situations and "tension." Such a purpose is the very opposite of nonviolence, for the atmosphere-of-crisis policy leads to violence by provoking violence. And the provocation of violence is violence. To describe such provocation as "nonviolent" is to trifle with the plain meaning of words.

The perpetual crisis technique has been used by the Communist movement throughout the world, both Communist governments and parties follow it. . . . It was used by Hitler in Germany, both on his road to power and after power came to him. . . . It is disruptive of democratic society and institutions.

Whether Dr. King knows it or not, or wills it or not, the policy of perpetual crisis, of provoking "tensions" as he calls it, and of civil disobedience, are disastrous to the Negro people themselves, to civil liberties and to constitutional government. Such a policy flies in the teeth of the very purpose of our Constitution, which is clearly stated in the Preamble to be, among other things, "to insure domestic tranquillity."

This is a damning indictment from a man who praises nonviolent approaches to problems of civil rights, and it comes not from a racist, but from a Negro who has been a champion of civil rights for decades.

Most Americans call the bloodshed, looting, fire bombing, and vandalism by its true name, violence, and to argue that these results of the King-led, -organized, and -backed marches, demonstrations, sit-ins, lie-ins, and the like are the fault of those who react against them is to argue not only against logic but also the law. The Supreme Court, in Hague against CIO, 1939, said:

The privilege of a citizen to use the streets and parks for the communication of views on national questions must be regulated in the interests of all . . . and must be exercised in subordination to the general comfort and convenience, and in consonance with peace and good order.

This opinion of the Court was reaffirmed as late as 1966. Former Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Whittaker makes the point that it is an "ancient and honored legal maxim that all men are presumed to intend the natural consequences of their acts." From this maxim comes severe condemnation of Dr. King for the broad areas of unrest and lawlessness which he promotes under the title of civil rights. Largely through the connivance of the liberal community, King has generally escaped the responsibility he deserves for the logical consequences of his civil disobedience pronouncements.

#### THE UNJUST LAWS

King explained his ideas on civil disobedience in terms of just and unjust laws, and how they are to be broken, during an interview on the March 28, 1965, "Meet the Press":

I do feel that there are two types of laws. One is a just law and one is an unjust law. I think we all have moral obligations to disobey unjust laws.

I think that the distinction here is that when one breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, he must do it openly, he must do it cheerfully, he must do it lovingly, he must do it civilly, not uncivilly, and he must do it with a willingness to accept the penalty.

To King the only guide whether or not to violate the law is his own particular whim or caprice. He and he alone will decide. Note that there is no mention of the fact that following one's conscience may violate the conscious obedience to the law by many other citizens. To King it makes no difference, if one accepts the penalty.

In the recent Birmingham decision, already cited, which upheld fines and jail terms for King and others who defied a court injunction against a civil rights march, the majority of the Supreme Court agreed that:

Civil liberties, as guaranteed by the Constitution, imply the existence of an organized society maintaining public order without which liberty itself would be lost in the excesses of unrestrained abuses. . . . Respect for the judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of law, which alone can give meaning to constitutional freedom. (Emphasis added.)

As usual, Reverend King tried to equate his own illegal contempt of court to Negro injustice. Appearing on the nationwide June 18, 1967, ABC program "Issues and Answers" he found the prospect of his 5-day jail sentence and the U.S. Supreme Court decision which ordered it upsetting to all Negroes. He warned the decision would "encourage riots and violence in the sense that it all but said that Negroes cannot redress their grievances through peaceful means without facing the kind of decision that we face."

This is directly false. In addition to his usual "invitation" to riots and violence, he tries to evade the real issue. He was not engaging in "peaceful means." He was engaging in illegal means, flouting the judicial process. The court decision was not saying anything to Negroes, it was a statement of the law of the land which was clearly applicable to every American. The true King can be seen in this twisting of the facts, his effort at personal martyrdom and the veiled threat of riots and violence which he uses in virtually every situation.

The value of committing acts of civil disobedience "openly," "lovingly," as it were, is commented on by Attorney Waldman, previously cited:

Apparently, Dr. King thinks that in violating laws "openly" he and his followers are more virtuous than those who violate laws secretly. As a matter of fact, the reverse is true. The open violation of law is an open

invitation to others to join in such violation. Disobedience to law is bad enough when done secretly, but it is far worse when done openly, especially when accompanied by clothing such acts in the mantle of virtue and organizing well advertised and financed plans to carry out such violations. The secret violator of law recognizes his act for what it is: an antisocial act; he may even be ashamed of what he is doing and seek to avoid disapprobation of his neighbors. But the open violator, the agitating violator, acts shamelessly, in defiance of his neighbor's judgment and his fellow man's disapproval.

Dr. King defines unjust laws as "those in which people are required to obey a code that they had no part in making because they were denied the right to vote."

When pinned down about communities where Negroes have the right to vote, and asked whether there was still the "right" to disobey, King expanded his code for lawlessness even more:

There may be a community where Negroes have the right to vote, but there are still unjust laws in that community. There may be unjust laws in a community where people in large numbers are voting, and I think wherever unjust laws exist people have a right to disobey these laws.

Here King jumped from Negroes to all people and from people without voting privileges to even those who do have the constitutional methods of change open to them. To him, the majority might always be wrong, the minority always right. Acceptance and promotion of this philosophy can only lead to the disintegration of American society. From it follows the chaotic situation where any one who believes, or even feels, that a law is unjust merely disobeys. The denial of freedom to the majority of Americans who obey the law is proportional to the number of persons who set themselves up as final judge and then disobey. While professing Christianity and humility, King strikes a harder blow at fundamental concepts of justice than any would-be dictator or other demagog in contemporary American history.

On the same "Meet the Press" program referred to earlier, Tom Wicker of the New York Times asked:

How are we to enforce law when a doctrine is preached that one man's conscience may tell him that the law is unjust, when other men's consciences don't tell him that?

King responded:

I think you enforce it, and I think you deal with it by not allowing anarchy to develop. I think the chief norm for guiding the situation is the willingness to accept the penalty, and I don't think any society can call an individual irresponsible who breaks a law and willingly accepts the penalty.

This is more King jibberish and feigned piety. To commit murder, for example, and then willingly go to prison to pay the penalty cannot change the nature of the transgression—it is still wrong.

Willingly or not, the question is still, in Judge Whittaker's words:

Can anyone reasonably believe that a disorderly society can survive? In all recorded history none ever has. . . . History also shows that, in each instance, the first evidence of the society's decay appeared in its toleration of disrespect for, and violation of, its law. There is no good reason to believe that similar toleration will serve us differently.

#### WHEN CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE BECOMES NECESSARY

Inflammatory statements, threats and actual instances of civil disobedience are evident throughout the career of Martin Luther King. In December 1959, King called on southern Negroes to practice civil disobedience, if necessary, and to break, openly, any State or local law "not in harmony with Federal law. This," he continued, "is the creative moment for a full scale assault on the system of segregation. We must practice open, civil disobedience."

In the fall of 1961 King spoke on the role of the Negro student, stated his hollow call for nonviolence and in the next breath called for "disobeying the unjust laws."

Two years later in Birmingham, King warned that city of more massive demonstrations:

I hope civil disobedience will not be necessary but, if something is not done quickly, if Congress filibusters the civil rights bill and does not pass the public accommodation section, Negroes will have to engage in massive civil disobedience.

Ten days later he said he feared violence and warned again that if the civil rights bill did not pass it "may lead to a night of darkness and violence."



I personally heard his threats at Howard University in 1964 during the time when Congress was debating the civil rights program, and I can assure you that he spoke not as a man of peace but as a man of violence.

In February of 1966, King and his men decided to assume "trusteeships" of a six-flat tenement in Chicago as part of a campaign to improve living conditions for the residents. King had no authority; his power was only that which is derived from police-state tactics. He simply took over. His reasoning: "morality" is more important than the law and property rights, the action was "supralegal," above the law.

In early April 1966, a circuit court judge enjoined King and his associates from entering the building, interfering, or collecting rent from the tenants, all of which they had done. There can be no denial of King's influence and the results of his "nonviolent" demonstrations and "direct action" programs.

The New York Times of July 16, 1962, stated that Reverend King "threatened a new drive for Negro rights" in Albany, Ga. Ten days later, leader King, according to the Times, set a day of penance following a night of rioting during which Negroes were arrested as they marched on city hall, hooting, laughing, and throwing bottles, bricks, and rocks at law officials. August 11, the police chief of Albany testified that the situation had been under control until King returned to the city to be tried for an illegal demonstration.

Another example of the "nonviolent direct-action" programs of Dr. King was exposed in July 1966 in the syndicated column by respected columnists, Robert Allen and Paul Scott. Their exposé reported that King and company were contacting, and enlisting, Chicago street gangs and "bringing them into the civil rights movement to fight 'the power structure'."

From a report said to be circulating through the U.S. Department of Justice, the columnists quoted these statements: King's lieutenants telling gang leaders that "the real foes are Mayor Daley, policemen, slumlords, bankers, businessmen, and school administrators"; or haranguing that this is an "unjust society"; and that "the gang members are being incited to violence instead of being taught nonviolence"; that "gang leaders have little or no understanding of civil rights, but do know how to use force." King, they said, had personally met several times with gang leaders who have a combined following of 1,000.

During the same month that King was reported to be enlisting the gangs, Chicago police battled some 300 Negroes for 2 straight hours of rioting.

Some time later, August 9, the Chicago Tribune reported that:

The Chicago Lawn area was the scene Friday night of civil rights disorder as the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., led Chicago marchers into the community to promote open housing for Negroes.

The Chicago riots of July 1966 deserve elaboration. Here is a selected sequence of events: The July 12 riot broke out just 2 days after King's mass civil rights rally.

The Baltimore Sun, July 10, 1966, reported:

In an interview . . . Dr. King acknowledged that his "end slums campaign in Chicago is an implementation program for the concept of 'black power,'" but under a more palatable name.

Dr. King acknowledged that his presence in Chicago, the street rallies, sit-ins, marches, and door-to-door campaign to sign up members of protesting [units] have more far-reaching aims than the immediate dramatization of problems of impoverished Negroes.

The next day King and Mayor Daley held a "showdown" meeting in the mayor's office. On July 14 the New York Times reported that the near West Side was tense after a police car was stoned by more than 100 Negro youths. Martin Luther King attributed the disturbance to the Mayor's refusal to make concessions to his civil rights program. This is his typical style. Rarely has Reverend King chastized looters, arsonists, and conspirators for violence. He always justifies their actions and, directly or indirectly, encourages them.

The report continued:

Dr. King . . . spoke at the headquarters of the West Side Organization, where a sign on the wall said: "Burn, baby, burn, boycott, baby, boycott." Roving bands of youths and some adults . . . broke windows, looted stores, and stoned police cars and small police vans.

During the weekend of the 16th, 17th, and 18th, Governor Kerner called out the National Guard when police could not control rioting that in 3 nights included burning, looting, two deaths, 100 injuries, 300 arrests, and extensive property damage.

A few days before the riot, King stated that disrupting the flow of Chicago's traffic—a tactic of Dr. King's—would be "rough" on city officials "when they have to get 200 people off the Dan Ryan (expressway) but the only thing I can tell them is: Which do you prefer, this or a riot?" Another "nonviolent" pilot project was thus in action.

It is doubtful that the city officials made the final choice.

Chicago's Mayor Daley, as reported in the New York Times, "asserted angrily that the strife was 'planned' Dr. King's aides were in here for no other reason than to bring disorder to the streets of Chicago," he concluded.

Following contact with the gangs mentioned earlier, it is disturbing to note that press accounts of the riots stated that Negro street gangs fanned the flames in the riot and were given credit for spreading violence to greater limits.

The Chicago Tribune reported that prior to the riots, King had shown films detailing the violence of Watts. Asked by the Tribune about this, King replied:

The films showing the Watts riots were to demonstrate the negative effect of riots.

The films add another dimension to the activities of King that are well known by law enforcement officials. Their general reaction to King is summed up by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in this statement:

Unfortunately, some civil rights leaders in the past have condoned what they describe as civil disobedience in civil rights demonstrations.

Martin Luther King, Jr., for example, after arriving in Chicago, Ill., early in 1966 in connection with the civil rights drive there, commented about the use of so-called civil disobedience in civil rights demonstrations and said:

"It may be necessary to engage in such acts. . . . Often an individual has to break a particular law in order to obey a higher law."

Such a course of action is fraught with danger for if everyone took it upon himself to break any law that he believed was morally unjust, it is readily apparent there would soon be complete chaos in this country.

When the riots broke out on July 12, did Martin Luther King enter the scene as a moderating influence? Absolutely not. On the second day of the riot, July 13, a rally was held at a local church and King appeared with one Chester Robinson, executive director of the West Side Organization, who made highly inflammatory accusations about the Chicago police. King's respectability added to the occasion. Robinson, incidentally, is an ex-convict with an extensive arrest record dating back to 1949. Such are the men King finds himself with time and time again.

The first amendment guarantees the right to assemble peaceably and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances, but it does not allow any latitude for disobedience. It is absurd to even imagine a situation where a law protects the right to disobey a law. To

say this is to say that law is not law.

Throughout, the actions of Dr. King have been termed "civil" disobediences, but Justice Whittaker makes this point:

What we are confronted by, and must deal with, are active, overt, willful mass violations of our criminal laws. That conduct is not "civil disobedience" in any dictionary or acceptable sense of those words. The understandable desire to avoid openly admitting advocacy and commission of crime cannot excuse us from calling that conduct what it is. Active and overt acts willfully committed in violation of our criminal laws are criminal violations and not "civil disobedience."

The final result of disobedience is not only gross violations of law during riots and marches, but in the opinion of Justice Whittaker, encompasses a general furthering of lawlessness throughout the country. "Toleration and appeasements" of the "many misguided preachments and activities of Dr. King are heavily contributing causes of the general disrespect for law and hence of the crime that is now rampant throughout our Nation."

I believe it is fair to conclude that Martin Luther King has been an apostle of violence and lawlessness, not peace and nonviolence. His method has been criminal conduct and conspiracy, not civil disobedience. To call it anything else would be the same perversion of the truth that King has engaged in for years.

#### A MINISTER BUT OF WHAT?

Although Dr. King asks the world to believe that he is a man of God and appeals to "higher laws" in justifying his acts of law breaking, it is incredible that he should expect the people of the United States to be so gullible as to accept the Biblical and historical precedents he conjures up as valid. They are not.

To use Biblical passages as a pretext for his call to lawlessness, King must first deny the context in which the Apostles lived and preached. They had no system of appeals. There was no guarantee of freedom. There was no free speech. The parallel is invalid.

In the opinion of the dean of Talbot Theological Seminary, Rev. Dr. Charles L. Feinberg:

Those who point to Biblical examples of resistance to authority forget the spiritual principles involved there, and are unmindful that they in that day had no such legal provisions for redress for their grievances such as we have today.

That Dr. King should disregard the total context of the New Testament, and the Book of Acts in particular, can hardly be believed.

It is also incredible that King would attempt to compare the civil disobedience of today with the Boston Tea Party. To make this comparison is, again, to forget that there were no channels of appeal or meaningful democratic remedy available to those American patriots. It is interesting to note that the Boston Tea Party and other acts against authority by the colonists were the beginnings of the overthrowing of a foreign government. We must assume that Dr. King knows this basic historic fact. His views and tactics on this point are hardly American.

Dr. King uses these methods to push into areas and communities where the



Martin Luther King is shown above with Anne Braden, Carl Braden and James Dombrowski, identified Communists, at a SCEF meeting.



residents, from mayor to fellow clergyman, say he is not wanted or needed. Some of the greatest condemnation of Martin Luther King has come from men of the church.

In 1964, delegates to the American Council of Christian Churches passed a resolution, "noting with regret that the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, had been represented before the world as a peace-loving Christian minister crusading in the interest of Negro life."

In 1966, Dr. J. H. Jackson, Negro leader of the National Baptist Convention, said that civil disobedience and nonviolence would not carry the civil rights movement any higher and might even lead to disrespect for law and order and to possible violence.

In 1965, a Negro alderman in Chicago, Ralph H. Metcalf, criticized King and his group, said King had "ulterior motives" in moving into Chicago with his programs and leveled the blast at King that:

This is no hick town. The leaders can handle the situation. We have adequate leadership here.

Metcalf said that King would not be "objective."

The Chicago Tribune of June 30, 1967 reported:

The Chicago chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, long critical of the civil rights tactics of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., has formally split with Dr. King's group. . . .

The article added that King's group and the NAACP have been at odds over King's tactics last year in the open housing march.

Episcopal minister, Dr. Robert B. Watts, of La Jolla, Calif., is another clergyman who has scored King's disobedience stand and his apparent belief that the end justifies the means. Dr. Watts declared that no one, "however exalted he may be or regard himself, has the right to say that what was wrong before becomes morally right if the acting party is willing to be punished if caught." The doctrine of morally justified civil disobedience should be rejected, he added.

Perhaps one of the strongest statements from a fellow clergyman came in April of this year. The blunt, descriptive attack on King came from the Rev. Henry Mitchell, leader of a group of West Side Chicago ministers. Here is the account as reported by the Chicago Tribune:

The leader of a group of west side Negro ministers declared yesterday that Dr. Martin Luther King should "get the hell out of here" because his civil rights marching in Chicago last summer (1966) "created hate."

"If he wants to march on the west side, let him march with rakes, brooms, and grass seed," said Rev. Henry Mitchell. . . .

He said the ministers represented the sentiments of 50,000 Chicago Negroes who want "peace, love, and harmony," don't approve of civil rights marches, and "just want to live in their communities and upgrade them."

Justin E. Walsh wrote in the monthly magazine, Rally, about those who use the pulpit for their strange social and political pronouncements. It seems to fit Martin Luther King. Walsh said:

Thus the pulpit becomes a political rostrum from whence God Himself directs the defeat of Barry Goldwater, the march on Selma, or a teach-in protesting American involvement in Viet Nam. The sacred and profane become confused, religion is reduced to an adjunct of political agitation, and church attendance falls because Americans do not indorse such schemes, will not listen to preachers who do.

Possibly the answer can be found in I Corinthians 1:27. It quite prophetically says:

But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.

In his constant preaching that the ends justify the means, King is not speaking in the Judeo-Christian heritage belief. This is crass materialism and Marxism. It is expediency not principle. It is frightening to contemplate the many leading clergymen that consciously join his cause or acquiesce by their silence. Even worse, he is being currently depicted as a modern Christian hero by a Catholic catechism series. The total picture of Martin Luther King brings one fundamental question to mind: He says he is a minister. A minister of what?

#### SOME OF KING'S ADVISERS AND ASSOCIATES

When one considers the backgrounds of some of Martin Luther King's advisers and associates, it is hardly surprising that some of King's activities work to the detriment of true civil rights progress and that he ends up mouthing the Communist line.

A UPI release of October 10, 1965, reported a meeting which King had with U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg concerning the war in Vietnam. The release stated that "King was accompanied to the meeting by Bayard Rustin, his special consultant," and others.

On February 10, 1966, Director Hoover of the FBI had this to say about Rustin:

At the University of Maryland last year, at a law enforcement institute held for police officers of Maryland, Virginia, and Washington, D.C., the university invited Bayard Rustin to be one of the speakers. Bayard Rustin was convicted for sodomy, a violation of the Selective Service Act and was an admitted member of the Young Communist League.

Unfortunately, this is not the only case where the backgrounds and/or activities of some of those close to King certainly harm the civil rights movement in the eyes of the public.

Rev. James L. Bevel, one of King's assistants in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is another of King's cohorts whose activities certainly do not reflect the sentiments of sincere civil rights exponents. Bevel was a sponsor of Vietnam Week, mentioned above, and was given leave by King to serve as national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, one of two committees which planned and organized Vietnam Week. The House Committee on Un-American Activities stated that "Communists are playing dominant roles" in the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Bevel was the signer of a public appeal for funds to furnish the DuBois Clubs "Freedom Center" clubhouse in Chicago and has joined as coplaintiff with the DuBois Clubs in their suit to restrain the Subversive Activities Control Board from holding hearings on the DCA as petitioned by the Attorney General. FBI Director Hoover has publicly stated that the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs were started by the Communist Party U.S.A. as a youth front.

In addition, Bevel was a sponsor of the Chicago conference on December 28 to 30, 1966, to discuss the idea of a nationwide student strike and other forms of demonstrations protesting the U.S. effort to resist Communist aggression in South Vietnam. According to the HCUA report, "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week":

Organizers of the conference have openly admitted that representatives of the following Communist organizations took part in the conference: Communist Party U.S.A.; W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America; Progressive Labor Party (the Peking-oriented faction of the U.S. Communist movement); Socialist Workers Party (the Trotskyist Communists); Young Socialist Alliance (youth branch of the Socialist Workers Party); Youth Against War and Fascism (youth arm of the Workers World Party, a Trotskyist splinter group); National Guardian (published by Weekly Guardian Associates).

Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, according to the Cincinnati Enquirer of June 9, 1963, was elected to the presidency of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., and when contacted by the Enquirer in Birmingham, Ala., concerning the nature of the SCEF, stated:

I have the highest regard for this organization (SCEF) for the work it has done since I have been a member of the board, and I have seen nothing on the part of any persons, with whom I have been associated, to give any substantiation to these charges.

Shuttlesworth has been a close associate of Martin Luther King and the New York Times of January 11, 1966, lists him as secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Like King, he has been associated with a number of cited Communist fronts. He was a speaker at the 25th annual convention of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America which, as indicated before, was expelled from the CIO by the 1949 convention on grounds of Communist domination.

When unable to attend, he sent a statement to be read at the rally held by the New York Council To Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a cited Communist front.

He was one of 200 guests at the National Guardian's 15th anniversary dinner on November 26, 1964. The Guardian is a cited Communist publication.

According to the Mine-Mill Union of July 1965, the official publication of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, Shuttlesworth was scheduled to speak at the 59th Mine-Mill International Convention, August 16, 1965, in Denver, Colo. This union was expelled by the CIO in 1950 on grounds of Communist domination.

Reverend Wyatt T. Walker, another of Martin Luther King's associates, also has several Communist fronts listed in his name. In 1962 he was cochairman in charge of conference facilities for a lawyers' conference on civil rights held in Atlanta, under the sponsorship of the National Lawyers Guild's Committee To Assist Southern Lawyers, and the National Bar Association's Civil Rights Committee in cooperation with King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The National Lawyers' Guild, as previously stated, has been cited as a Communist front.

Walker was a sponsor of the Yasui Welcoming Committee which in turn was sponsored by the National Guardian, a Communist front.

As in the case of Shuttlesworth, Walker was a sponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, a Communist front.

Of all those associated with Martin Luther King and the SCLC, perhaps none have had such a close relationship with the Communist Party as Hunter Pitts O'Dell. A UPI release which appeared in the New York Times of July 27, 1963, reported that King stated that O'Dell had worked twice for the SCLC. King acknowledged that O'Dell "may have had some connections in the past" with communism but King added that:

We were convinced that he had renounced them and had become committed to the Christian philosophy of nonviolence in dealing with America's social injustices.

King said O'Dell left the movement on June 26 by "mutual agreement" because of concern that his affiliation with the integration movement would be used by "segregationists and race-baiters."

The surest indication of O'Dell's break with the Communist Party would be, of course, his willingness to appear before a congressional committee and give the U.S. Government the benefit of his party experience. Indications are that O'Dell could be of immense help in disclosing the identities of 20th-century Benedict Arnolds biding their time for the downfall of the United States.

In 1956 O'Dell testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He invoked the fifth amendment and refused to say if he was a southern district organizer for the Communist Party. Robert Morris, counsel for the subcommittee, said information had been received that O'Dell was, in fact, a district organizer for the Communist Party in New Orleans, and that O'Dell gave "directives to the professional group" in that city and that he operated under three different names—the other two being John Vesey and Ben Jones.

#### RIGHT DOWN THE COMMIE LINE

April 4, 1967, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., rose to the speaker's platform in New York City's Riverside Church and delivered what must surely be the greatest condemnation of American policy and involvement in Vietnam ever to come from a well-known citizen. His attack was ruthless, packed with misleading innuendoes and distortions. A Presidential aid was later quoted: "a speech on Vietnam that goes right down the Commie line."

More and more, King has been branching out from civil rights into the field of foreign affairs. More and more he parrots the far left, pro-Communist line.

If there were any doubt, the April 4 speech washed it away. In this speech, King lashed out at the United States, called our Nation "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today," charged the Nation with "cruel manipulation of the poor" and, as if written by the Daily Worker, said that U.S. troops "may have killed a million South Vietnamese civilians—mostly children." Keep in mind that these are only selections from the speech.

This speech and his involvement with the Vietnam Week protests brought down on King's head an abundance of denunciations, from civil rights leaders, legislators, military men, journalists and many Negroes who believe King has gone way, way too far.



# Martin Luther King Enlists the Gangs Planning FOR Violence

By ROBERT ALLEN & PAUL SCOTT  
WASHINGTON — Dr. Martin Luther King may be preaching the doctrine of non-violence for his coming "civil rights" disobedience campaign in the big cities, but he and his aides appear to be organizing for violence.

Federal authorities keeping a close watch on his Southern Christian Leadership Conference report that lieutenants of King are contacting Chicago street gangs and bringing them into his civil rights movement to fight "the power structure."

King, whose organization is studying the Buddhist use of street gangs in Saigon demonstrations, has put Rev. A. R. Sampson in charge of enlisting gang leaders in SCLC's new militant youth movement.

According to an investigative report being circulated inside the Justice Department, King plans to organize the teen-age gangs into protest and marching groups in all major U.S. cities if his Chicago experiment is a success.

The report reveals that King personally has attended several meetings with gang leaders,

including one early in June at a downtown Chicago hotel, where 50 groups held their "first annual gangs convention."

Attending this gathering were the "Blackstone Rangers," "The Disciples," "Del Vikings," "Peacemakers," and "Vice Lords." They are estimated to have a combined membership of

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## 'New Politics' Convention to Open Here

Dr. King Will Be Keynote Speaker

By CHESLEY MANLY

Approximately 2,000 revolutionaries from all parts of the United States are expected to gather in Chicago over the Labor day week-end for a convention of the National Conference for New Politics, which is dedicated to the overthrow of the existing "power structure" in this country by "creative disorder."

One example of the "creative disorder" advocated by the leaders of this movement is what happened in Detroit. Whole sections were destroyed as effectively as if they had been bombed by enemy aircraft or artillery.

Stokely Carmichael, who attended a communist conference in Havana, threatening the United States with guerrilla warfare in all its major cities, and then went off to Hanoi, is a member of the executive board of the N. C. N. P.

Commie Meets Committee Arnold Johnson, public relations director and a member of the national board of the Communist party, has been conferring with the steering committee of the N. C. N. P. convention, which will be held in the Palmer House from Tuesday, Aug. 29, thru Monday,



(Tribune Staff Photo) Martin Luther King

Dr. Benjamin Spock for President and Vice President on a third party ticket in 1968.

The N. C. N. P. steering committee had decided to permit a free convention decision on the question of running King and Spock on a third party ticket. Preliminary soundings

in the various component the so-called "new pol movement" for a third effort in 1968. At the re of the Communist party, ever, the steering comtee reconsidered the question, meeting attended by Jo in the Palmer House, Jr. and 30, and agreed on f mentary maneuvers whic expected to prevent a de by the convention in faa a third party campaign.

At the 1966 annual meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the group condemned the war, called it mass murder and authorized King to "throw the resources" of the organization behind efforts to end the war. It was at this time that King said he would write to the leaders of the governments involved. Doubtless, he dropped the idea when someone told him that the Logan Act, which he would have violated, forbids an individual from dealing in this way with a foreign government.

## Massive Civil Disobedience In North Urged by Dr. King

By PAUL HATHAWAY

ATLANTA, Ga. — Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. today called for massive civil disobedience demonstrations on a mass scale in Northern cities, saying that an unyielding power structure has left Negroes no other choice.



"With these and other practices, or burning a match or firing a gun, the impact of the movement will have earthquake proportions," he said.

Dr. King also mentioned President Johnson's newly appointed commission on civil disorders, saying "I'm rather

electoral efforts in the congressional elections of 1970 and the Presidential election of 1972.

One of the most astonishing achievements of the revolutionary "new politics" grasp for power in this c

infiltration of the Congress. One of young man name Guy Gorman, (1204A) in the I House Office bu is an annex to Rep. Robert W. (D. Wis.) Gorm

Arthur I. Waskow of the executive N. C. N. P., is administrative assis Kastenmeier.

Congressmen / In a "franked (free) letter posts 2, 1967, Gorman v

Boas, research dir Chicago headquar N. C. N. P.

"Waskow though 14

it described as "an increasing staff occupies a penthouse at 27 East Monroe street. It is a busy place, crowded with bearded and mini-skirted penthouse proletarians.

ly reactionary response" to the "twin prospect" of "continued stalemate in Viet Nam" and "greater violence in the cities."

These agencies believe the Communists hope to turn the "New Politics" movement into a political front as a successor to the defunct Progressive Labor Party.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is scheduled as keynote speaker when the conference meets Thursday in Chicago for a five-day convention designed to form a coalition of peace activists.

Leaders in the national conference include Julian



## Martin Luther King's Tragic Decision

By CARL T. ROWAN

DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 29, 1967

## U.S. Sees Red Scheme to Seize Rights Parley

By JERRY GREENE

Washington, Aug. 28 (NEWS Bureau) —Evidence of a Communist Party plan to seize direction of the National Conference for New Politics as a vehicle for a new third political party has been uncovered by government security agencies, THE NEWS found out today.

These agencies believe the Communists hope to turn the "New Politics" movement into a political front as a successor to the defunct Progressive Labor Party.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is scheduled as keynote speaker when the conference meets Thursday in Chicago for a five-day convention designed to form a coalition of peace activists.

Leaders in the national conference include Julian

Early reports indicated that the conference might seek to form a third party presidential ticket of Dr. King and Dr. Spock in the 1968 campaign.

Security agencies here say that the Communist Party has launched a nationwide campaign to send undercover delegates to the conference to grab control.

For several weeks, party organizers have been issuing what they call "word-of-mouth" instructions to members: "Attend the convention, become a delegate, obtain key positions on steering committees or convention commissions. Above all, do not allow your Communist membership to become known."

The Communist Party began the drive for infiltration of the conference in June at a meeting of its national committee in New York. When the committee session ended, Arnold Johnson, party



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

## Negro Pastor Urges King to Leave Town

CHICAGO (AP) — A Negro pastor in a West Side slum area said yesterday that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. should "get the hell out of" Chicago.

The Rev. Henry Mitchell, minister of North Star Missionary Baptist Church, made the suggestion at a news conference at the church.

The church is block away from the apartment King rented last year when he opened a drive for better jobs, education and housing for Chicago's Negroes.

King, president of the

## Denies Rights Split

ATLANTA (UPI)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced Sunday he will go to Birmingham, Ala. "At the right time" to serve a five-day jail sentence for defying a 1963 court order.

The order, forbidding demonstrations, was upheld by the Supreme Court last week.

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whatever that means. This is the enigma of Martin Luther King. He preaches nonviolence but somehow this can end up in illegal or violent actions. Then he says he is not responsible, although he himself has often participated in illegal acts.

He has thrust himself into community after community where even the Negro leaders have asked him to stay away. Only this year, King again foisted himself into the Chicago turmoil and announced his own brand of solutions to their ills. Rev. Henry Mitchell, a leader in the area King chose as a "target" asked him to leave and charged that King "created hate." King has thrust himself onto the Cleveland, Ohio, scene and promoted a boycott of a local dairy. In that particular case, he cited as some demands on that firm actions which could be a violation of the civil rights law. He also said the firm must advertise in Negro newspapers and put money in Negro savings and loan associations to avoid a Negro boycott. All in all, this is the blackmail tactic of a would-be dictator and power-hungry demagog, not a responsible leader.

By word and deed, he has been a potent force for lawlessness in our country. He has been a scowllaw. He has arrogated to himself the right to pick and choose the laws he will obey. He has set a poor example for others to emulate. He has countenanced draft evasion. He has been disloyal to his own country.

In an age when our country needs statesmen and builders, he has been a demagog and wrecker. Many of his ideas are alien to our way of life. In America, he can constitutionally say virtually anything he wants and command any following that he can muster for legitimate pursuits. It is important, however, that he be understood in his true perspective so honest and well-meaning Americans will not be duped because they did not fully understand the man, his mission, and his tactics.

NOTE: This reprint contains about one-half of the original speech which appears in the Congressional Record of October 4, 1967 on pages H13005 through H13017.

King's Riverside speech is a hideous perversion of fact, a perversion nearly without limits. He said that Americans "poison the water" of the South Vietnamese. He stated that "we kill a million acres of their crops" and that American bulldozers "destroy their precious trees" and that "they wander into the hospitals with at least 20 casualties from American firepower for each Vietcong-inflicted injury." These are King's words. To this array of absurdities he added:

We test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe.

These are a few of the Communist-line invectives which King delivered on April 4. Since they were spoken, various "transcripts" of the speech have appeared, "cleansed" versions brought forward in an apparent attempt to soothe the irate response of the great majority of Americans.

For all his vocal attempts to keep his anti-Vietnam stand and civil rights separate, and on a "personal" basis, these attempts have not worked. There is a joining of the two and King has helped direct it.

At the 1966 annual meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the group condemned the war, called it mass murder and authorized King to "throw the resources" of the organization behind efforts to end the war. It was at this time that King said he would write to the leaders of the governments involved. Doubtless, he dropped the idea when someone told him that the Logan Act, which he would have violated, forbids an individual from dealing in this way with a foreign government.

King maintains that he has never advocated a "mechanical merger" of the civil rights and peace organizations—which at other times he says are inextricably bound together—but, mechanical or not, he did release the Reverend James Bevel from the SCLC to head the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam. Incidentally, Bevel's wife, Diane, not long ago got back from a Hanoi pilgrimage, so that helps understand the Bevels.

CONCLUSIONS

In November 1964, FBI Director J.

Edgar Hoover called Reverend King "the most notorious liar in the country." Mr. Hoover spoke with no small amount of authority or knowledge. King has avoided a direct encounter with the famed public servant because the record is clearly unfavorable to the civil rights leader. Mr. Hoover is privy to many confidential reports on Mr. King's activities just as I am, and while their nature cannot be disclosed, I can say without equivocation that Martin Luther King does not want nor can he stand a public airing of his record. I can rest my case against King with the public utterances and actions of this man and any revelation of confidential matters is entirely unnecessary.

Why has he been immune for so many years and, in the parlance of the day, "allowed to get by with murder?" There is a peculiar double standard which the liberal community consistently applies. If any prominent person, particularly a conservative, were to identify with or share a speakers' platform with a member of the John Birch Society or some group the liberals might currently be attacking, he would be maligned forever. Let Martin Luther King openly identify with Communists and radicals, have a Communist as an adviser, engage in criminal activity, appear at the most way-out meetings in the Nation and advocate racism, revolution or civil disobedience and these same people look the other way.

In the long run, Mr. Speaker, I am sure that we don't have to worry that much about the Martin Luther Kings. Our society is open enough, free enough, and resilient enough that it can withstand demagoguery. What is frightening, however, is to see the usual guardians of the public interest, ranging from the press to the Justice Department, look the other way and virtually assure such people a green light in their operations.

The press has repeatedly referred to Reverend King as a moderate. He is not. While he is not telling Negroes to arm themselves with guns or to "burn, baby, burn" like the Rap Browns and Stokely Carmichaels, he is, in a sophisticated way, agitating for the same thing. He is going to have a massive dislocation of northern cities but no violence. He says that upsetting a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot,